

INDICTMENT OF SOCIALISM

BY

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INDICTMENT OF SOCIALISM.

The word "Socialism," which has many meanings, is usually restricted to theories for the distribution of wealth and adjustment of social conditions.

State Socialism makes the State the source and intermediary of this distribution and adjustment.

Christian Socialism makes the Christian Law the ideal to which this distribution and adjustment must conform.

Scientific Socialism makes Social Democracy the distributor of wealth and adjuster of social conditions.

This lecture confines itself strictly to the consideration of Scientific Socialism, which theory alone is generally understood by the word "Socialism" when stripped of all modifying words.

SOCIALISM DEFINED.

Wishing, for the sake of whatever clearness the subject admits of, to offer a definition of Scientific Socialism, as distinct from Christian Socialism, and State Socialism, I will quote substantially from an able political economist who has grouped the elements together, and has formed the following descriptive definition:

"Socialism is a proposed, international, industrial, co-operative, Social Democracy, aiming at the seizure of universal political power, in order to substitute public for private ownership of land and capital, so as to bring about public production, and equal distribution of all income."

The correctness of this definition may be gathered from any Socialist Platform. The first plank of the Platform adopted in Indianapolis, Ind., July 31, 1901, reads as follows:

"The Socialist Party, in National convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government, and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people."

The democracy of Socialism is one in which equality exists amongst all the members; and in which authority is nothing but the combined will of all the members entering into the details of industrial and social life. Overseers may be elected for short terms, but the machinery of civil government, with its true legislative, judicial, and executive powers, being repressive, is gradually eliminated, as destructive of that perfect equality sought for in this pure democracy.

The democracy of Socialism is called Social, by which is understood a most perfect equality amongst the members in rights,

wealth, and social standing. Thus the word social, applied to democracy, marks off Scientific Socialism from Christian and State Socialism. All social movements that are moderate, and recognize true authority in government, and class distinctions, are derided with bitter sarcasm by Socialists themselves, and are styled by them Utopian and re-actionary.

Social Democracy is called Co-operative, as its very existence depends upon the good will, good fellowship, and good behavior of the members; it is called Industrial, for its chief aim is the improvement of labor. Social Democracy is called International, for its destruction could be easily wrought by State nations in competition. This international association is said to be Proposed, for it is evident that it has never existed. The seizure of political power is considered the necessary means to introduce Public Ownership of land and capital. Public Ownership of land and capital, and Public Production, are aimed at as means to beget a large and uniform production for Equal Distribution and consequent happiness.

CAUSES OF SOCIALISM.

Leo XIII, in his Christmas Encyclical, 1888, wrote: "The poison of false teaching has rapidly gained upon public and private life. Rationalism, Materialism, and Atheism have brought forth Socialism, Communism, and Nihilism."

It is evident to all, that the false teaching, here spoken of by the Pope, has been spread by infidel philosophers: as Kant, Fichte, and Schelling, in Germany; Rousseau, Voltaire, and Victor Hugo, in France;

Stewart Mill, Huxley, and Spencer, in England. We might mention various other causes which have been instrumental in giving existence to Socialism. Amongst them we could enumerate: the loss of faith consequent upon the revolt against the Church in the sixteenth century; the new industrial conditions begotten by the invention of machinery; the new array of society into the capitalist and wage-earning classes; the oppression of the poor; the enforcement of laws favorable to the rich; the rapid spread of knowledge following upon the invention of printing; the sufferings of numberless poor who have lost Christian patience, and who are goaded to envy and hatred by the haughty display of vanity and luxury on the part of the rich.

PROMOTERS AND LEADERS OF SOCIALISM.

The writings of Babeuf, Proudhon, Count de Simon, Charles Fourier, Louis Blanc, Lassalle, and Rodbertus, led on more immediately to the formation of Scientific Socialism; but its real founders were Marx, Engels, Bebel, Liebknecht, Guesde, Lafargue, Adler and Plechauff.

Carl Marx, a German Jew, is the sacred oracle of Socialists. He is the Moses who has imbibed all the wisdom of his predecessors, and who hands down the law on tablets of stone. His book entitled "Capital" is read and re-read as the great "Koran" of the faithful. Bebel still lives, and is the one grim defiant agitator whose sole purpose in life is opposition to government. His dramatic contests with Von Beulow, the German Chancellor, on the floor of the *Reichstag*, are daily viewed as battles royal

between destructive Socialism and civilized society.

FALSE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM.

Socialists, thoroughly imbued with materialism and atheism, have taught the most irrational and dangerous doctrines touching upon God, the nature of man, and the nature of government. They have taught that God and nature, the Creator and his work, are identified in substance; and hence all things are divine, even down to the lowest animal instincts, which, in man, must be subjected to no control.

"The human will," said Fourier, "is nothing but attraction, and man should do whatever he likes."

They have taught materialistic evolution, and have founded Socialism on that overworked, and now almost abandoned, system which arrogantly assumed, but never proved, that all distinct species gradually evolve into higher species; and that man himself, from the lowest species of cell life, has but reached the highest degree of Simian development, and, in consequence, has no spiritual soul, but only a material energy which dies out with the body.

They have taught that the first and last destiny of man is to range for food, avoid suffering, and grasp for pleasure. They have taught the most extravagant and absurd notions concerning liberty, equality, and fraternity. They have turned liberty into reckless license. They have found men equal in all things; whereas they are equal in this only—that they are all created by God, have each a soul redeemed by Christ, and are all destined for heaven. They have

mistaken sentimentality for true fraternity. In regard to property and labor, they have rejected fundamental and safe principles held sacred by all civilized people from the foundation of the world.

Regarding property—they have adopted the teaching of Rousseau; and many have taught that need is the only foundation for property; and, consequently, that he who needs a thing, has a right to it, and that he who has more than he needs is a thief.

Regarding labor—they have taught with Count de Simon that labor is the only source of value; or, with Rodbertus, that capital, being the surplus value of labor, is naught but robbery; or, with Marx, that exchange value belongs to the laborer, and hence the laborer should seize upon capital, and thus despoil the despoiler.

Regarding right to produce—they hold, with Louis Blanc, that the State alone has the right to produce, and to distribute the outcome of productions; and hence all private production is a crime.

Regarding wages—many promulgate the so-called "Iron Law of Wages," invented by Lassalle. He held that, in given circumstances, wages will always be confined to what is barely necessary for existence and propagation; and must depend solely on supply and demand; and hence the laborer has no chance of improving his condition. Socialists still talk of this "Iron Law," though it has been proved a thousand times that it is no law. Innumerable facts have been gathered to prove that wages generally range about or above the medium, often reach the maximum, and seldom fall to the minimum. Facts prove also that, at least in the United States, workingmen have

many excellent chances, with business and professional men, of improving their condition.

Regarding the State—they hold that the will of the individual must be absorbed by Social Democracy. Thus they make the so-called Social State a real juggernaut, and give it power to crush all private and inalienable rights of individuals and families. Here, then, they teach a contradiction, and lie to themselves. They sing of liberty, and make the individual a slave; talk of equality, and make man a cog in a wheel; whine about fraternity, and sell their brother into Egypt.

Regarding society itself—they hold the materialistic evolution theory, and teach that all institutions amongst men, whether religious or civil, are but the results of long struggle for food and distribution; and that, with a proper change in the manner of production and distribution, all necessary changes must follow in religious, political, and other human institutions. David Goldstein, of Boston, ex-Socialist worker, and ex-Representative of the General Committee of the Massachusetts Socialistic Clubs, writes, in his excellent volume on Socialism: "Socialistic authorities from Marx and Engels down to the present day, teach that all institutions, of whatever nature, religious, moral, intellectual, ethical, civic, political, etc., etc., are but results of the economic structure; and, therefore, all institutions must change with the development of the industrial world. Upon this ground the Socialistic movement stands; upon this ground the Socialistic movement must fall."

THE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

Socialism, formerly a secret society, now openly avows its principles, and clearly lays down its Plan of Campaign. In the London *Manifesto*, Marx and Engels write: "In short, Communists (Socialists) everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things. They openly declare that their ends can be obtained only by the forcible overthrow of the existing conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic (Socialistic) revolution. Working-men of all countries unite."

In his volume, "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," Frederick Engels develops the "Plan" more carefully. Substituting for the word "proletariat," workingmen, and for the word "bourgeoisie," capitalists, he writes: "Workingmen seize the public power, and, by means of this, transform the private means of production, slipping from the hands of capitalists, into public property. By this act, workingmen free the means of production from the character of capital they have thus far borne, and give their public character complete freedom to work itself out. Public production upon a predetermined plan becomes henceforth possible. The development of public production makes the existence of different classes, rich and poor, ruling and ruled, of society thenceforth an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy (competition) in social production vanishes, the political authority of the State dies out. Man, at last the master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time the lord over nature, his own master—free."

THE INDICTMENT.

Viewing Socialism in its definition, in its causes, in its leaders, in its principles, and in its plan of campaign, we pronounce Socialism false, dangerous and absurd; and to make this charge evident, we bring proof for each of the twelve counts in the following *indictment*:

Socialism is destructive of human society; ignores the chief aim of life; is unjust towards owners of private property; robs for public ownership; unnecessarily seeks public production; finds no satisfactory standard for equal distribution; holds a false view of the relationship between capital and labor; is not a friend of the workingman; is the death-knell of liberty; is a menace to woman; is a blight upon youth; and a deadly foe to all Christians.

SOCIALISM IS DESTRUCTIVE OF HUMAN SOCIETY.

Socialism is destructive of human society, if it holds a false view of the very nature of human society. But it does hold a false view.

Socialism considers human society as a collection of men evolved equal and independent; like so many eggs in a box, or so many bricks in a pile.

But the true nature of society is organic; and society may be compared to the human body, in which are found a variety of members, unequal in value and necessity, but all animated by the same soul, and all working for the good of the whole being.

This inequality is begotten by nature ; and all striving against nature is vain. Who does not remember the story of the hands and feet that went on a strike against the stomach, which they considered a capitalist and a plutocrat? It was only when they began to waste away that they recognized that the God of nature had ordained all things wisely.

Hence Leo XIII, and Pius X, tell us the truth when they say: "According to the ordinance of God, there are in human society, princes and subjects, masters and proletariat, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, nobles and plebeians, all of whom united in the bonds of love, are to help one another to attain their last end in heaven, and their material and moral welfare here on earth."

Socialism erects a short stairway to Utopia. It contains but three steps. The first step is revolution ; the second is public ownership of land and capital ; and the third is forced equal distribution of goods and social conditions—and then, Utopia!—with its golden floors and jasper walls, with peace in the absence of State repression, with plenty in the presence of earthly goods, with happiness in the complete satisfaction of natural instincts.

But, if we examine the steps of this stairway, we find that they lead to the destruction of human society. Socialism is revolution against monarchies in Europe, against republics outside of Europe. In Europe it praises republics ; in republics it undermines the constitution. But revolution is always injurious to human society, whether the revolution be accompanied by political upheaval only, or by violence. But Marx tells

us, in The Hague congress of 1872: "In most countries of Europe, violence must be the lever of our social reform."

Public ownership of land and capital is destructive of human society; for it could not be accomplished without violating the first principle of human society, which is the right of private ownership of the means of livelihood.

Forced equal distribution of goods and social conditions is destructive of human society; for society of its very nature is founded on the inequalities of men begotten by nature itself; and all striving against nature is vain.

In place of leading to Utopia above, the Socialistic stairway would lead to Chaos beneath. The Utopia would prove a Sheol. With the gradual withdrawal of repressive force, embodied in civil government,—which is derided by Socialists as the "Capitalist Machine,"—the evil inclinations of men would burst forth in a torrent. Lust envy and greed, anger murder and ambition, would sweep away the last remnants of society. Then, indeed, would happen what Spencer and all sensible men foresee—a military juggernaut, a Nero, would arise to quench the last spark of liberty, and burn out the last vestige of dying civilization.

From his watch-tower on the Vatican hill, Leo XIII has warned the nations of the danger of Socialism. In his encyclical "APOSTOLICI MUNERIS," 1878, he wrote of Socialism: "It is a sect of men bound in baneful alliance to carry out the purpose long resolved upon, of uprooting the foundations of civilized society."

The attitude of Socialism toward the State may be illustrated by the story of a king and quack.

A certain King, by much manly exercise, had gained a strong and robust constitution, but was suffering from some chronic ailment. One day a Quack forced himself into his presence, and said: "Your Majesty will permit me to remark that all of your court physicians are antiquated, and know absolutely nothing of your true condition. I alone am wise. As long as life exists in your body, your case is hopeless. You must die; that is certain. Evolution, at least, will necessarily effect it. Permit me to kill you. Be not at all alarmed. I can bring about your death gently by the use of phoenix powders. When you are dead, I shall cremate your body, and from your ashes build up a new man. He won't be exactly yourself, but another far your superior. He shall have perfect organs, beautiful limbs, and a complexion that shall rival that of the angels." "Hold!" said the King, "marvelous indeed! And pray tell me the names of those whom you have cured by this radical measure." "I must confess," answered the Quack, without a blush, "that I have as yet cured no one. I tried my remedy on an ancient Greek, a certain German by the name of Herr Rapp, a Mister Owens, and several Americans. None of these survived; but I am sure your Majesty will make a fine subject." The King, growing angry, turned to his courtiers and said: "This man is either serious or jocose. If serious, he is a fool; if jocose, he is a buffoon; but in either case, he is dangerous.

Cast him out, and let him thank heaven that he goes hence with a whole skin."

SOCIALISM IGNORES THE CHIEF AIM OF LIFE.

The chief aim of life is intellectual and moral perfection, and the fitting of one's self for eternal happiness. Man alone stands erect, and his mind soars aloft; for he is something nobler than the mere beast with eyes bent earthward, rummaging for food, and associating for pleasure. Man is endowed with true spiritual faculties, and his immortal soul is created to be the very image of God, and is made but a little below the angels. The progress of his soul is man's chief care. He lives not to eat, but eats to live; and the estimate of his worth is not to be measured by his ability to sew cloth, make a hat, or drive an engine. But the whole Socialistic theory ignores the true character and destiny of man, and values him only by his capacity to do work and to produce wealth. In order to increase the sum of production, Socialism would force all men to do industrial labor, and turn life inside out and upside down.

SOCIALISM IS UNJUST TOWARDS PRIVATE OWNERS OF LAND.

Socialism is unjust towards private owners of land, if it seeks to destroy the rights of such owners; but it does seek to destroy the rights of private owners of land. Private ownership of land is founded on natural law, and is respected by all civilized nations. Guided by reason and natural instinct, man seeks to provide for himself

and posterity. He occupies a piece of unclaimed land; he clears the wood, plows the ground, lays out a garden, and plants a vineyard. This land becomes identified with his labor; and becomes, as it were, a part of himself. He certainly has a right to possess it securely, to exclude others from its use, and to transmit it to his children. But this is private ownership of land. It will not do for Socialists to assert that the earth has been given to the whole human race; and, therefore, all own it in common; and, hence, he who owns a part robs all the rest. True, the earth has been given to the whole human race; but its ownership depends upon occupancy, intention to use, and such other human actions as make for rational division.

SOCIALISM ROBS FOR PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Socialism robs for public ownership, if public ownership cannot be accomplished without forcibly seizing upon the property of individuals. But who is so simple as to believe that men, who have acquired wealth by processes recognized by law, would gladly give over their land and capital to the public, and be satisfied with wearing a ribbon of distinction? The fundamental law of every society is to protect its own members. Its first principle must be, "Let justice reign, though the world perish." Socialism would become public robber, taking from some to enrich others. When the Socialistic idol would thus begin to devour its own children, the tocsin of universal chaos would be sounded, and pandemonium break o'er a blighted people.

But, we ask, is public ownership of all the land desirable, or even feasible? What does ownership mean? It means the right to possess a thing securely, and the right to exclude others from its use; and these rights to possess and exclude must be such that they can possibly be used; for a right that cannot possibly be used is no right. Would common ownership of all the land give the right to possess securely? We answer, no; for this right could not possibly be used.

Two ways have been imagined by which the public might use its right to possess securely. The first is for the public to lease the land for agricultural purposes. Let us examine the lease. Is it a short lease, or a long lease? If a short lease, no one would rent; since many years are required to make the land fruitful in pastures, orchards and vineyards; but if the lease be for a long term of years, so that the farmer may be able to gain the full benefits of his labor, and pass them on to his children, we come back to private ownership of land. The second way imagined by which common ownership might exercise a right to possess the land securely, is for the State to engage permanently in agriculture, employing large industrial armies, paying the unit of wage marked on the time-check. Let us see the method at work. Five thousand men are finally marched, many against their will, into the over-ripened harvest. It must be gathered to-day, or be lost. The thermometer registers only ninety-five degrees in the shade. Discontent grows with the increasing heat. Loud murmurs run along the ranks. No armed policemen are near, no Sheridan twenty miles away; and

all are comrades, and equals; and each interested only to the extent of one unit of wage. The signal is given, and the army retreats ingloriously from the harvest field to occupy a strong position in the nearest social beer-garden; and, whilst the glasses clink and the steins rattle, the army-worm and the chinch-bug quietly gather the harvest, praising the while the glories of the Socialistic Paradise.

Public ownership of all the land, as is evident, could not exercise a right to exclude. Whom could it exclude? All the members being equal, no one could be excluded. Hence, as public ownership of all the land could not possibly exercise the right to possess securely and to exclude, the idea of public ownership of all the land vanishes.

SOCIALISM UNJUSTLY AND UN- NECESSARILY SEEKS PUB- LIC PRODUCTION.

Socialism unjustly aims at public production, if such production requires public ownership of land and capital; and if the chief advantages of public production are now secured by private production. But it is evident that public production requires public ownership of land and capital; now we have seen that public ownership of land and capital could not be acquired except by robbery and oppression. The chief advantages of public production are supposed to be: the lessening of cost, and cheapening of selling price, by doing away with competition; also the better regulation and increase of production; the avoidance of waste; and the greater equilibrium between supply and demand.

But these are the very same advantages which the unpopular trusts now claim, and, with some show of truth, that they confer upon society.

SOCIALISM FINDS NO SATISFACTORY STANDARD FOR EQUAL DISTRIBUTION.

For the sake of "equal distribution" of wealth, socialism would destroy government, become chief robber, and destroy class distinction; but equal distribution is the rock against which socialism itself would split asunder. The old story of the knaves would repeat itself. They readily associate, quickly rob, and easily produce; but the difficulty lies in the equal distribution of the plunder. Each knave must be as well satisfied with the distribution as though he himself had made it; else the plot is revealed and all are punished. Imagine for a moment, that the majority of men had lost their reason, and socialism had been voted in for trial; and, by means fair or foul, had gained public ownership, and had earned an income from profit, rent, or interest. By what standard would this income be equally distributed amongst the citizens of the Social Democracy? Programmes of standards have been spread from Gotha to Dresden, from Vienna to London, from Boston to Chicago. Let us examine these imaginary standards.

The standard of "Numbers" giving equal shares to all, irrespective of labor, would satisfy vagabonds only. Workmen will not admit this standard, and Socialists reject it.

The standard of "Diligence" fails to recognize the various degrees of skill and ex-

cellence in workmen, and thus discourages genius and ambition.

The standard of "Need" introduces the worst forms of espionage and interference in private affairs, and would be destructive of individual freedom. Moreover, no board of elected overseers could determine, with anything like satisfaction, the needs of various tradesmen, artists, professors and delegates; and the needs of different women and children in sickness and in health.

The standard of "Labor-time," whether it be Marx's "social unit" established by the average work done in a given time, or Bebel's measurement by hours, makes no due allowance for skill and experience.

The standard of "Value of the labor performed" is bristling with difficulties. This standard embraces both the time spent and the intrinsic value of the labor performed. But how could a committee get at the intrinsic value of the labor performed? And who would willingly submit to their decision? Some of the elements which determine the value of the labor performed are skill, diligence, expert knowledge, genius, and the necessity or danger to the public.

What Solomon could be found to weigh these elements justly, compound them wisely, make them palatable, and fix a value to the satisfaction of the workers in each trade, and art, and profession?

Other Socialists have invented the standard of "Rotation in office." This standard is wild and comical. Socialists recognizing that neither the "*unit of time*" standard, nor the "*value of labor* standard" could accomplish satisfactory equal distribution, have proposed "*rotation in labor.*" How beautiful! To-day we are baker, to-morrow

the sheriff, next day plumber ; and, in rotation, we are coal-heaver, physician, brewer, tailor, inventor, street cleaner, mayor, banker and journalist. The very proposal of "*rotation in labor*" shows to what desperate straits Socialists will go ; and proves that they conceive the people possessed of an infinite capacity for being gulled. They outdo the republicans of the post-bellum days, who created the Freedman's Bureau with its promise of forty acres and a mule for every negro vote.

All of these standards for equal distribution are impracticable and deceptive. All would fail to bring peace ; and in place of it, would offer, in this Utopia, an arena in which would be witnessed the conflict of races, and the death struggle of all contending interests.

SOCIALISM HOLDS A FALSE VIEW OF THE RELATIONSHIP BE- TWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR.

Socialism holds that all capital is robbery, and that antagonism must ever exist between capital and labor ; but this view is entirely false. Capital itself is but labor saved and materialized. Under present industrial conditions, capital has new alignments. From a thousand firms, a hundred small corporations, capital has been marshalled into trusts. The trusts have some advantages. They seek a world market, employ numberless men, can afford to give fair wages ; and, being stock companies, give opportunity to men and women of moderate means to buy stock, and thus engage in business without worry and with little risk.

Capital is not as aggressive as labor, and goes about seeking an humble three or four per cent. John Mitchell, in his new book on the "Labor Problem," says rightly: "There is no necessary hostility between capital and labor. Neither can do without the other; each has evolved from the other. The laborer and the capitalist are both men with the virtues and vices of men, and each wishes at times more than his share. Yet, broadly considered, the interest of the one is the interest of the other."

SOCIALISM IS NO FRIEND OF THE WORKING-MAN.

Socialism opposes the best interests of the workingman. His best interests are constant work, fair wages, and contentment. When these happy conditions are present, Socialists have no hope of arousing the masses to revolt against society; and hence they endeavor to break down these conditions for the purpose of creating widespread discontent, and of arousing hatred between capital and labor—between the masses and the classes. Socialists were long open in their antagonism to workingmen; but of late years, like sirens of evil, they sing soothing songs to them, and enchant them with the hope of impossible wealth and happiness.

Some few labor organizations, especially in the far west, have been engulfed in the maelstrom of Socialistic politics, and have become recruiting stations for the propaganda; but, thanks to the intelligence and patriotism of the great body of its members, Socialists have failed, both by inside boring and outside pressure, to gain over that nu-

merous and magnificent body of workingmen united as the American Federation of Labor, under the leadership of Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell.

SOCIALISM IS THE DEATH-KNELL OF LIBERTY.

Socialism is destructive of individual liberty. Under Socialism, a man could not eat as he pleases, dress as he wishes, live where he chooses, nor select the employment he loves. In place of one master—the State, a man, under “Social Democracy,” would be subject to a thousand tyrants, spying out his every action, prying into his private affairs, and all in the name of fraternity. With Socialism triumphant, liberty would perish, and civilization be rolled back beyond the days of feudal tyrants.

SOCIALISM IS A MENACE TO WOMAN.

Socialism is a menace to woman, if it evidently tends to degrade her to the pagan ideal; but Socialism has this tendency. Under Socialism, woman would become the object, not of chaste love and Christian reverence, but of convenience and lust.

In the London *Manifesto*, Marx and Engels write: “What the Communists might possibly be reproached with is that they desire to introduce, as substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized community of women.”

In the summer of 1884, Engels published his work on “The Origin of the Family.” This book is a Socialist classic, and is praised by Socialists, both in Europe and America, as giving the true theory of marriage and family, under Socialism. He

says, p. 79: "Monogamy" (one man united to one woman) "was the first form of the family not founded on natural, but on economic conditions, viz: the victory of private property over primitive and natural collectivism." Again, on p. 91, he says: "With the transformation of the means of production into collective property, the monogamous family ceases to be the economic unit of society. The private household changes to a social industry. The care and education of the children become a public matter. Society cares equally well for all children, legal and illegal. This removes the care about the consequences which now forms the essential factor,—hindering a girl to surrender unconditionally to the man beloved. Will not this be cause for a gradual rise of a more unconventional intercourse of the sexes, and a more lenient opinion regarding virgin honor and female shame?"

Here we have it plainly. The family is extinguished, the home made a workshop, and the children public wards. Woman emancipated! free to vote, free to work, free to love; to-day free to mate, to-morrow free to go. Robert Owen, and Baron Rapp, and John Noyes, coming to the United States, and founding their Socialistic colonies under the most favorable circumstances, failed—as have all such movements failed—ingloriously; and to-day many of the old haggard and dried up women of the colonies live to curse deeply the social movement that bereft them of virginal modesty, womanly virtue, and honorable motherhood. But fair woman will not be degraded again, and forced back to the slough from which Christianity has rescued her.

Though it were possible to fool all of the men all of the time, it is utterly impossible to fool all of the women even a part of the time. One high minded, dissatisfied, woman has often disrupted an empire, crumbled a kingdom, overturned a republic. Think of ten million ambitious American ladies forced to live in the social barracks, eat the common hash, and wear the regulation bonnet. Bedlam would break loose in a night, and ere morning, the Socialist leaders would hang as high as Haman.

SOCIALISM IS A BLIGHT UPON CHILDREN.

Socialism is a blight upon children, if it tends to demoralize them; but that it does so is evident from the plans proposed for their generation, segregation, and education. They are to be the offspring, not of, true marriage, but of sex-fondness; and are to be thrown upon the social industry for motherly affection and fatherly care. They are to be herded in communal schools or incubators, like the five illegitimate children of Rousseau. They are to be freed from all repression, given common doses in production and pleasure seeking, taught that God is a myth, religion a fraud, man but a developed ape, and that freedom from skin disease is the only chastity, and ambition the only crime.

SOCIALISM IS THE FOE OF ALL CHRISTIANS.

Christianity places before man the acquisition of virtue as the highest standard of society. Socialism sets up material pro-

duction as the highest standard, and grants earthly goods to those only who take active part in wealth production.

Christianity teaches that the servant should be subject to his master, the inferior to his superior, the wife to her husband, the child to its parent—because it is the will of God. Socialism demands perfect equality of rights, and of the conditions of life, for all, in every regard, but chiefly in social life. It characterizes all inequality in social life as fraud and oppression. Christianity teaches that man is bound by the marriage tie. Socialism teaches, with Bebel, that “Man should be free to dispose of the strongest instinct of his nature, as of every other natural instinct.”

Christianity condemns immoderate quest for riches, and exalts poverty of spirit; but acknowledges the right of private property in the materials of labor; as lands, tenements, and means of production. Socialism condemns the private ownership of all productive property. Christianity condemns the violent subversion of the lawfully existing social order. Socialism holds with Marx, that “We must finally have recourse to violence in order to establish the rule of labor.” Christianity teaches that the State should encourage the public exercise of religion. The social official platforms declare that religion is a private affair; thus divorcing the Social Democracy from religion; acknowledging that it is non-religious and atheistic. Christianity advocates respect for God, and forbids blasphemy. Socialists blaspheme God, and are openly profane. In their official organs they speak of “drafts on eternity,” and of “clerical ascendancy.” They say: “We believe in no

Redeemer ; no man, no God in human form, no Saviour, can redeem humanity,—only laboring humanity can save humanity.” Marx himself wrote: “Man makes religion, not religion man. The abolition of religion, as the deceptive happiness of the people, is a necessary condition for their true happiness.” Bebel tells us that he “leaves heaven to the angels and the sparrows.” Liebknecht says: “Stupidity reveals itself in religious forms and dogmas.” Dietzgen says: “If religion consists in a belief in higher gods, Socialism has no religion,” and again: “Socialism shall make that love a reality for which religious fanatics have displayed irrational enthusiasm.”

Henry Quelch, Editor of London *Justice*, in “The Social Democrat,” March 15th, 1902, writes: “In answer to your letter asking me for my opinion as to the attitude of the Socialistic Party towards the Church, I think that the only line to be taken is that of uncompromising hostility. The Church is a powerful, crafty and resourceful enemy.”

In his excellent book, “The Nation of Fatherless Children,” Mr. David Goldstein fills sixty-seven pages with quotations from blasphemies hurled against God and the Church, and taken from official Socialist organs in England and America ; and penned by such great Socialist writers as James Leatham, Averling, Liebknecht, Bebel, Ferri, Herron, Loria, Jaures, Guesde, Brown, Kautsky, Quelch, Vandervede, Bax, and Furemont.

Considering then that Socialism is essentially opposed to Christianity, and attacks it with such bitterness, it is almost amusing to hear Socialists say, for the purpose of

gaining new recruits, that Socialism is not opposed to Christian churches, but considers religion a private affair.

No Catholic can be a Socialist, for the Pope flatly condemns it, and calls it "An accursed brood." No Protestant can be a Socialist, for his New Testament abhors it. No orthodox Jew can be a Socialist, for his Old Testament repels it. No sensible man can be a Socialist, for reason rejects it. Those only, then, can consistently be Socialists, who spurn God, court His punishments, and believe this earth to be the final Utopia.

One who is familiar with the Socialist newspaper literature of the day, has composed for Socialism this decalogue:

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS OF SOCIALISM.

1st Commandment: I am the Lord, God, thy Panacea. Thou shalt have no god but me, and no religion but mine. Thou shalt destroy the religion of Christ by making it a private affair. Thou shalt not make to thyself any money, nor the likeness of any productive property, in the heavens above, in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth.

2nd Commandment: Thou shalt often take my name in vain, for I myself am blasphemous.

3rd Commandment: Remember, if possible, all the days of rest in my Utopia. Don't miss any.

4th Commandment: Honor thy father and thy mother, if thou canst discover them.

5th Commandment: Thou shalt not kill a comrade, nor the first and second baby;

but if the ballot fails, and necessity arises, begin with rulers, presidents, capitalists, and ministers of religion.

6th Commandment: Thou shalt not fear to commit adultery.

7th Commandment: Thou shalt not steal. Take it openly from him who has more than thou hast.

8th Commandment: Thou shalt not bear false witness, unless it be to promote my socialistic paradise.

9th Commandment: Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife. Take her to thyself, for she is also thine.

10th Commandment: Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods, for he shall have none worth coveting.

THE OUTLOOK.

From the deck of Peter's bark, the Pope, like a good helmsman, has warned the nations, time and again, of the gathering of the Socialistic storm. It has broken over Europe, and has raged for half a century. It has swept, for a time, some nations from the safe moorings of stable government. The storm still rages, though its impetus has been broken by the strong faith that still remains in Israel. Germany has suffered most, and from her shores the broken currents have swept beyond the seas. Socialism is doomed to utter failure wherever the people are Christian, and the Government popular. It has been defeated over and over again in the United States, until now the Socialistic Party has but to be named to be despised. Eight millions of families under our Republic are land owners. Eleven millions of families enjoy wealth with peace.

Our workingmen are better paid than those of any country under the sun. The vast body of Americans are loyal to the flag, and are perfectly contented with our social and political institutions. The floating armies of foreign workmen who flock to our shores may revel secretly in the dreams of Socialism; but woe betide those who dare raise the red flag of Socialistic revolution. No one contends that our institutions are perfect, nor denies that many reforms are most urgent. But constitutional methods must be used. With the spread of Christian principles, wider education, broader patriotism, unselfish labor unions, and a pure ballot, all needed reforms can be peacefully accomplished for the greater happiness of the people.

Socialism is doomed, but it will die a hard death; for it is founded on greed in the rich and on envy in the poor. When employers begin to take more interest in their employees; and employees begin to regard their employers as friends—the death-knell of Socialism will be sounded.

Right well did Bishop Spalding say: "One does not have to be a poet or a prophet to see that society in the future will be complex and various, yet free and orderly—unstained by the crimes that Capitalism has no doubt perpetrated, and yet untainted with the deepest stigma that would result from the atrophy of independence under a Socialist regime."

THE CONCLUSION.

The INDICTMENT of Socialism has been made. The charges have been sustained, and a True Bill must be returned.

Socialism is but a horrid dream, a fool's paradise. Some one has well said: "Socialists are not crazy, they are only dreamers." "They are lacking," says the German Chancellor, "in depth of sentiment, tenderness of feeling, and reverence." And he might have added: "They abound in arrogance and self conceit, and bear the same old lying front of the devil which he bore when, pointing to the glories of the world, which he could not give, he said to Christ: 'All these things will I give thee, if falling down thou wilt adore me.'" But what are these things which Socialism offers? Ask Marx what becomes of the State under Socialism? He answers: "It dies out." What becomes of civil government? "It dies out." What of religion? "It dies out." What of home and parental love? "They die out." What of the family? "It dies out." And were you to ask what becomes of civilization? He should not hesitate to answer: "It dies out too." And this is philosophy! Scientific Socialism! O Daniel! Thou art discounted by Marx! "Judgment, thou hast fled to brutish beasts, and men have lost their reason!"

"Socialism," says Von Beulow, "lacks spirit and humor, withers like a hot simoon, and passes like a parching sirocco."

An impassable gulf lies between the world of imagination and that of reality. John Mitchell saw the true light when he wrote: "The average wage-worker has made up his mind that he must remain a wage-worker. He has given up the hope of a kingdom to come, where he himself will be a capitalist. Socialism is, and can be realized only amongst savage tribes. In civil society we must bear with Christian patience

the burden of sorrow that necessarily falls to the lot of man, supported by the thought that it is better, "bear those ills we have than fly to others that we know not of." Both in universities and colleges, as well as in elementary schools, we must purge out the bad leaven of atheistic principles, and teach Christian morality, in order that respect may be inculcated for law, divine and human, natural and civil."

Socialism places material interests, and materialistic passions, above the interests of the soul and the claims of virtue. Moral progress, religion, virtue, should hold the first place in our esteem. Let man fill the earth with his inventions and riches, and let him whiten the seas with the canvas of his fleets. This is but the proof of his high origin and the fulfillment of divine benediction.

But let him not bend the knee to his own handiwork, nor adopt physical enjoyment as his code of morals. Let him aim at intellectual progress, but remember that true enlightenment consists in superiority of mental and moral virtue. Like individuals, nations remain really great only so long as the spirit retains its legitimate empire. Barbarism, in its essence, is dominion of matter over spirit. Materialism, the parent of Socialism, has obtained a foothold on our soil, but its sway is not universal. There are myriads in our land, of all ranks and conditions, who have not bowed the knee to Mammon. Till the last breath of materialism is stilled on earth, the Cross of the Redeemer, rising aloft over the world, where His own power placed it, as the sign and centre of man's liberation from the thralldom of matter, will twine the hearts of mil-

lions around it, in the holy union of pure faith and exalted virtue.

Socialism stands condemned before the judgment seat of divine revelation, and before the tribunal of human reason. It is vicious, unnecessary, and uncalled for; whatever good it advocates, is advocated by Christian and State Socialism, true friends of society. The aggressiveness of Socialism should be a profound warning to Christians, and to all reasonable men, that the time has come to rally under the standard of Christian Democracy; and to stand as a bulwark for all that genius and the most unselfish patriotism of the ages have produced—the present magnificent civilization of the world.

FINIS.

